Material Culture and the 'Backstage': A Response to 'How Civilized Were the Victorians?'

Is academic writing perpetuating myths about the Victorians? Is our thinking constrained by the legacy of post-structuralist theory? Is the dominance of literary criticism distorting the efficacy of Victorian Studies? These are all valid and stimulating questions posed by Peter Andersson's essay 'How Civilized Were the Victorians?'[1] While much of this article rings true with my own experience of studying Victorian culture since the mid-1990s, diagnosing the problem is undoubtedly easier than finding the cure.

I wholeheartedly support Andersson's quest to move beyond canonical texts, overused methodologies and tired critical positions. He is not alone in finding predictable critical positions derived from canonical theorists increasingly clichéd. Theory should stimulate us to think beyond our preconceptions rather than form their basis. Theory is our tool and should help us to pose pertinent questions rather than provide us with answers.

As someone who studied in a literature department but ended up researching material culture, I consider myself a product of the breadth of literary studies and think we should be wary of blaming it for problems within Victorian Studies. Some influences from this area are problematic (as I will argue below) but we need to acknowledge that the popularity of studying Victorian literature effectively funds a lot of research within our field and literature departments are often admirably broad in their approach.

I find Andersson's use of 'cultural history' narrow; my understanding of this phrase would certainly include his own readings of photography and it is also unclear in what sense cultural history automatically leads to 'preference for literary and published

1. Peter K. Andersson, 'How Civilized Were the Victorians?', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 20.4 (December 2015), 439–52.

texts'.[2] Rather than attributing myopia in Victorian studies to literary criticism or cultural history, I prefer to explore Andersson's metaphor of the 'backstage': aspects of Victorian culture that are not evident within published sources or canonical texts. He suggests that one approach to this area might be through 'nonverbal culture' described as 'the practices of a historical period that lie outside the discourses reproduced in periodicals, novels, autobiographies or government documents'.[3] This essay will propose material culture as a vast and relatively unexplored area of nonverbal culture through which we might glimpse the 'backstage' – how can analysis of material culture help to keep us alert to the plurality of contexts, experiences and phenomena within the Victorian period? As an illustrative case study, this essay will analyse a book, not through its linguistic content but as a material artefact. This is ostensibly the kind of material that Andersson considers over studied, it is British, metropolitan and, in a sense, elitist. But I hope to show that by analysing this 'thing' as material culture we can glimpse 'the Victorians without their civilized masks'.[4]

I. Material culture and Victorian Studies

Material culture studies is arguably one of the most underused approaches by Victorian scholars and an area mentioned only in passing by Andersson. This approach is not just about objects: it describes the study of physical matter consciously shaped by human activity and the analysis of how objects and humans interact to create meaning. In essence this is the study of how the Victorians shaped the physical world and in doing so, how they evolved the way that they understood this world and their place within it. This

2. Andersson, 'How Civilized Were the Victorians?', p. 441.

3. Andersson, 'How Civilized Were the Victorians?', p. 446.

4. Andersson, 'How Civilized Were the Victorians?', p. 452.

is not a way of supplementing mainstream scholarship, it is the search for historical narratives that are not available through literary or documentary sources.[5]

The historiography of Victorian material culture is complicated by the so-called 'material turn' in Victorian Studies, a phrase that describes a tendency among literary critics to focus on the representation of 'things' or objects within literary texts.[6] The novels of Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope and Gaskell are full of things laden with meaning and analyses based on consumption studies, post-Marxist commodity theory and more recently 'thing theory' have proved popular among literary critics seeking to develop theoretical angles. [7]But the 'material turn' rarely gets close to material culture because analysis of physical matter is not part of the agenda. Bill Brown's *A Sense of Things* is often seen as a foundational text but its focus is things within novels.[8]

Although most discussions of the 'material turn' start with Asa Briggs' *Victorian Things*, first published in 1988, historians of architecture, design and art have been

5. For useful discussion of the place of material culture within fashion studies see Giorgio Riello, 'The object of fashion: methodological approaches to the history of fashion', *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture*, 3 (2011) <http://dx.doi.org/10.3402/jac.v3i0.8865> [accessed online 1 October 2016].

6. Assessments of the 'material turn' include Lynn Pykett, 'The Material Turn in Victorian Studies', *Literature Compass* 1 (2003) <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1741-4113.2004.00020.x/full> [accessed online 24 August 2016] and Jennifer Sattaur, 'Thinking Objectively: An Overview of 'Thing Theory' in Victorian Studies', *Victorian Literature and Culture,* 40.1 (March 2012), 347–57.

7 Studies include Andrew H. Millar, *Novels Behing Glass: Commodity Culture and Victorian Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Elaine Freedgood, *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Suzanne Daly, *The Empire Inside: Indian Commodities in Victorian Domestic Novels* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011); Talia Schaffer, *Novel Craft: Victorian Domestic Handicraft and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

8. Bill Brown, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

studying Victorian material culture for years. [9]Although some studies might be restricted to narrow discussions of a style, object type or career of a particular artist or architect, at its best, architectural and art history gives us pertinent analysis of Victorian culture through artefacts and objects and points to the areas that documentary history or literary studies cannot reach.[10] And we need to acknowledge the value of object-based studies of art and design initiated by galleries and museums; the importance of exhibitions such as Tate Britain's *The Pre Raphaelites* (1984) and the V&A's *William Morris* (1996) to name only two, should not be underestimated.[11]

Words and things

Andersson raised a number of issues about the negative legacy of post structuralism and I would like to extend this by contesting the assumption that all meaning is generated within linguistic frameworks. Archaeologists, who have a far more mature tradition of reflecting upon the analysis of material culture are often explicitly critical of this. Olsen, explicitly discussing post structuralism, suggests that:

> Following in the wake of an idealist intellectual tradition that has continuously devalued, stigmatized and demonized the material (as always bypassed, always made transcendental) to conceive of any

9 Asa Briggs, *Victorian Things* (Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1990).

10. Two examples from Victorian medievalism (one of my research areas) are illustrative: Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981) a classic interdisciplinary study by an architectural historian; G. A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, 1840–1870* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), a profound study of the British Empire through architecture. Significantly Bremner notes the inadequacy of postcolonial theory to explain his findings (p. 368).

11. Linda Parry, ed., *William Morris* (London: Philip Wilson, 1996); Leslie Parris, ed., *The Pre-Raphaelites* (London: Tate, 1984).

> material experience that is outside language becomes the subject of suspicion.[12]

The tradition of subordinating matter to text is pervasive and the popularity of 'thing theory' within Victorian Studies is a testament to this process. I suspect that some scholars of material culture have been frustrated into a reactionary anti-theoretical stance due to what Olsen describes as the 'tyranny of the text' but this is not necessary, as of debates centred on material culture provide stimulating positions from which to consider the interdependence and inter relation of humans and things. If we can move beyond the text and confront the challenges of Victorian materiality we might just find a whole new entrance to the 'backstage'. This will not be achieved through exhaustive analysis of a small number of famous objects (which presents the prospect of fetishizing artefacts) but through examining how subjects and objects interrelate. According Christopher Tilley, material culture studies attempts to overcome the dualism 'in which subjects and objects are regarded as utterly different and opposed entities' and seeks to understand how we rely on material culture to be ourselves and know ourselves: 'material forms do not simply mirror pre-existing social distinctions, sets of ideas or symbolic systems. They are instead the very medium through which these values, ideas and social distinctions are constantly reproduced and legitimized, or transformed.'[13] Simon Morgan mirrors this approach in a discussion of Victorian ceramic figurines: 'material objects do not act simply as passive vehicles for conveying social meaning in any straightforward structuralist sense: instead they must be seen, at least in part, as constitutive of social

12. Bjornar Olsen, 'Scenes from a Troubled Engagement: Post-Structuralism and Material Culture Studies', in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kuechler, Mike Rowlands and Patricia Spyer (London: Sage, 2006), pp. 85–103 (p. 95).

13. Christopher Tilley, 'Objectification' in *Handbook of Material Culture,* ed. by Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kuechler, Mike Rowlands and Patricia Spyer (London: Sage, 2006), pp. 60–73 (p. 61).

communication.'[14] Through making artefacts, landscapes and cities the Victorians made themselves: these things are not just reflections or manifestations of Victorian history but the stuff through which Victorian culture was made, negotiated and transformed.

Things, methods and education

Object-based study generates many challenges and we might pause to ask who we train to analyse artefacts. My own training occurred through luck, I chanced upon a PhD supervisor who understood Victorian material culture, obtained my first job as a research assistant in a museum and ended up working at one of the few UK universities which teaches the conservation of historic objects.[15] This atypical career trajectory meant that I benefitted from contact with a wide range of academics, curators and conservators who studied the physical nature of objects. Direct study of objects may be taught within archaeology, anthropology and to some extent within the history of art and design but relatively few Victorian specialists come from these backgrounds.

Historical archaeologists have used material evidence to contest just the kind of truisms that Andersson seeks to challenge but unfortunately British research from this perspective is relatively scarce, although some pioneering work has been carried out in American and Australia.[16] Some conservation-related methodologies such as architectural

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[14] Simon Morgan, 'Material Culture and the Politics of Personality in Early Victorian England', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 17.2 (May 2012), 127-146.

15. My PhD supervisor was Dr Chris Brooks at the University of Exeter. I worked as a research assistant on the British Galleries Project at the V&A Museum and currently teach material culture studies to students studying Conservation, History and English at the University of Lincoln.

16. For a recent project that demonstrates the value of this approach see Alastair Owens, Nigel Jeffries, Karen Wehner and Rupert Featherby, 'Fragments of the Modern City: Material Culture and the Rhythms of Everyday Life in Victorian London', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 15.2 (August 2010), 212–25. See also

paint research use material evidence to map the development of historic interiors but although this technique is well known and respected within the heritage industry, it is not part of mainstream academic discourse.[17] If we want more people to feel comfortable in analysing material culture then we need to provide opportunities for students to develop the analytical skills required for object-based study and develop stronger relationships with museums, galleries and the heritage sector.

Most scholars of the Victorian period would agree that archival material is a good starting point for original research but we when we think of an archive, we imagine a large repository of documents. Perhaps we should try to think of the vast array of extant material culture created, formed and shaped by the Victorians as our most valuable research asset. As a case in point, I will now present some analysis of a book that avoids the obvious perspective of exploring the textual content. I hope to show that by paying attention to the physical properties and commercial context of this publication, we can gain new insights into even the best-known Victorian authors.

IV. *A Selection from the Works of Alfred Tennyson*

A Selection from the Works of Alfred Tennyson was first advertised in November 1864, in good time to catch the high sales of Christmas gift books that typified the mid-Victorian publishing industry.[18] Although Tennyson had been popular for at least 15 years, this was

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Alan Mayne and Tim Murray, ed., *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in Slumland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

17. I have explained this methodology as used in researching Elizabeth Gaskell's house, see Jim Cheshire and Michael Crick-Smith, 'Taste and Morality at Plymouth Grove: Elizabeth Gaskell's House and its Decoration', *The Gaskell Journal*, 27.2 (2013), 1–25.

18. Alfred Tennyson, *A Selection from the Works of Alfred Tennyson* (London: Moxon, 1865); 'Advertisement', *Athenaeum* 1933 (November 12, 1864), p. 645; for Christmas book sales see Simon Eliot, 'Some Trends in

the first selected edition of his verse; up to this point his publisher had steadfastly resisted issuing cheap editions on the basis that it would lower revenue from existing publications.[19] This book has not stimulated any analysis from Tennyson scholars but, considered as a material artefact, has much to tell us about the poet's career.

The appearance of the book was orchestrated by James Bertrand Payne, who had been appointed manager of the Moxon publishing firm in 1864. He commissioned an ornate cloth cover designed by John Leighton, the most prolific and successful book designer of the mid-Victorian period.[20] Leighton's cover is extensively gilded on the front (but not the reverse) and dominated by nationalistic iconography. A border formed by wreaths of oak leaves punctuated with gothic ornament encloses a repeat pattern of fleur-de-lys with the monogram, 'E M & Co.' in the centre (Figure 1).[21] Payne advertised the cover as 'cloth bevelled' alluding to the outer edges, which were angled inwards – another new feature of this carefully designed format. Cloth covered books became widespread in the early 1840s. Before this, most books were issued in temporary covers (usually described as 'drab boards'), that purchasers or booksellers often rebound in leather. A cloth cover on a cardboard substrate could be decorated mechanically, which

British Book Production', in *Literature in the Marketplace*, ed. by J. O. Jordan and R. L. Patten (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) pp. 19–43.

19. The background to this analysis is discussed in Jim Cheshire, *Tennyson and Mid-Victorian Publishing: Moxon, Poetry, Commerce* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

20. See Edmund M. B. King, *Victorian Decorated Trade Bindings 1830–1880* (London: British Library and Oak Knoll, 2003).

21. The new imprint Edward Moxon & Co. was adopted after Edward Moxon's death and used consistently on their publications from 1864.

radically changed the way that books could be branded and sold.[22] When the potential of this versatile decorative surface was combined with the large-scale manufacture of cardboard book casings (developed between 1825 and 1830), a range of new possibilities began to emerge for the production of books: for the first time books could be decorated in large numbers in factories. The development of this new industry coincided closely with Tennyson's rise to fame and when Payne became manager of the Moxon firm he was determined to market Tennyson's poetry through highly ornate gift books.

INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

[Caption: John Leighton, cover to *A Selection from the Works of Alfred Tennyson* (London: Moxon, 1865). Photograph by Jim Cheshire.]

Payne used the potential of cloth covers in several ways. He asserted the commercial identity of the firm through the monogram on the cover and used typographic variation to launch a new venture. The spine places more emphasis on the series than the author: 'MOXON'S MINIATURE POETS' on a background of gold appears at the top, '*SELECTIONS FROM TENNYSON'* follows about half way down (Figure 2).[23] Payne had decided to use Tennyson's popularity to launch a series. Succeeding volumes comprised reprints of out-of-copyright poetry (which the Moxon firm did not have to pay for), while the Poet Laureate's literary celebrity was harnessed to

22. For the development of the cloth cover see Bernard Warrington, 'William Pickering and the Development of Publishers' Binding in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Publishing History*, 33 (1993), 59–76; See also King, *Victorian Decorated Trade Bindings*, p. xi.

23. This approach was echoed in the initial advert which has 'Moxon's Miniature Poets' in large, bold typeface and 'Containing selections from the works of Alfred Tennyson' in much smaller letters below, see 'Advertisement', *Athenaeum*, 1933 (12 November 1864), p. 645.

add exposure and credibility to the venture.[24] Ornament was not restricted to the covers, a vignette precedes most of the poems and a red line borders the poetry on each page, arguably an imitation of Routledge's 'Red Line Poets' (Figure 3). The red line lays emphasis on the generosity of the border, an attempt to physically dissociate the book from cheap publications.

INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

[Spine of *A Selection from the Works of Alfred Tennyson* (London: Moxon, 1865). Photograph by Jim Cheshire.]

INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE

[Page layout from *A Selection from the Works of Alfred Tennyson* (London: Moxon, 1865). Photograph by Jim Cheshire.]

The physical form of the book became a source of considerable tension between poet and publisher. Tennyson believed this book was going to be a cheap edition for working-class readers but in this he was disappointed. Charles Tennyson's biography of his grandfather records the poet's displeasure, suggesting: 'he was persuaded, against his will, to issue the volume in a more ornamental style than his severe taste generally admitted', which confirms that Tennyson's vision of an honest working-class edition was shattered by Payne's flashy little gift book.[25] The book was advertised 'for the benefit of

24. This series was relaunched as 'Moxon's Popular Poets' in c. 1870 but by the mid-1870s was actually published by Ward, Lock and Co. who had taken over the assets of the Moxon firm. As Ward, Lock and Co. did not have the right to publish Tennyson's work the selection from his poetry was omitted.

25. Charles Tennyson, *Alfred Tennyson* (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 376.

the people' in eight monthly parts at 6d (totalling 4s) or in its cloth cover for 5s.[26] No copies of the sixpenny parts are known to have survived, which questions whether this cheaper format sold in any quantity. The description of this publication in Hallam Tennyson's *Memoir* of his father is deceptive. Apparently quoting from Emily Tennyson's journal, Hallam reports that the publication was sold in 'threepenny numbers' (untrue), prints Tennyson's preface addressed to the 'Working Men of England' (not included in the book) and quotes a letter from Queen Victoria expressing 'satisfaction' at knowing that Tennyson's verse was now 'within the reach of the poorest among her subjects' -- but at minimum price of 4s this was not a cheap publication.[27] Hallam's *Memoir* suggests that Tennyson's intentions for the book were carried out, while the material artefact contests this narrative and allows us to recover the cultural tensions surrounding this publication.

Tennyson earned a lot of money from this book, a list recording the profits from various publications in Emily Tennyson's writing shows that Tennyson's share of the profit for *A Selection* was £8,337 18s 11d in two and a half years, significantly more than *Idylls of the King*, which was hailed in 1859 as a spectacular success.[28] Needless to say, this information was not included in Hallam Tennyson's *Memoir*. The figures for the profits can be extrapolated into figures for the number of copies sold: sales in the first 30 months may have been within the range of 95,000 to 152,000 copies, showing that *A Selection* sold better than *Idylls of the King* and may have even outsold *Enoch Arden*, normally

26. 'Advertisement', *Athenaeum*, 1943 (21 January 1865), p. 102.

27. Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1897), II, p. 19. Books marketed as cut price or 'pocket' editions were usually 2s 6d or cheaper.

28. The five six-monthly entries for *A Selection* total £8337.18.11, a yearly average of approximately £3,335, while the six-monthly entries for *Idylls of the King* average about £ 2,575, see Tennyson Research Centre (Lincoln) LETTERS/7911.

considered Tennyson's greatest popular success. Arguably this information alone makes this book worthy of study and we may need to start thinking about *A Selection* as the volume through which many readers first experienced the Poet Laureate.[29]

Tennyson worked hard on the content for *A Selection*, making it an interesting statement of how he understood his role as Poet Laureate.[30] His selection could be described as populist and patriotic, a theme very much echoed by Leighton's design for the cover. Popularity was signaled by the avoidance of challenging poetry: works that generated adverse literary criticism such as 'Maud' and *The Princess* were represented only through brief lyrics. The recent publishing sensation *Idylls of the King* was granted a lot of space in *A Selection* which included 'Guinevere' in its entirety – at 29 pages over ten per cent of the volume and easily the largest extract. Patriotic poems opened and closed the selection: 'To the Queen' at the start and (incongruously) the 'Dedication' to *Idylls of the King* at the end. Other patriotic poems included 'Charge of the Light Brigade', 'Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington' and 'You ask me, why, tho' ill at ease', which was published under the new title 'Britain'.

The frontispiece portrait of Tennyson was an integral part of the project. (Figure 4) The engraving is glossed by the text: 'Engraved by Vincent Brooks from a Photograph taken by the London Stereoscopic Company. Novr 28th 1864.' Payne sent the sculptor Thomas Woolner into the photography studio with Tennyson: Woolner's diary reads

29. The rationale for these estimates is explained in Jim Cheshire, *Tennyson and Mid-Victorian Publishing: Moxon, Poetry, Commerce* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming 2016).

30. Emily Tennyson claimed that Tennyson wrote six new poems for the volume, although all six were actually adaptions of earlier work, see Alfred Tennyson, *The Poems of Tennyson*, 2nd edn., ed. by Christopher Ricks, 3 vols (London: Longman, 1987).

'Went with A.T. to Stereoscopic Co.: – to pose him for photographs – '.[31] Payne's approach highlights the convergence of visual culture and publishing in the 1860s: one of his earliest actions as manager of the Moxon firm was to reclaim the poet's image from others who had been profiting from it. Engraving the photograph distanced the frontispiece from the commercial images sold by photographers such as J. E. Mayall and William Jefferey and the same photographs later functioned as a basis for a sculptural portrait medallion carved by Woolner, which in turn was engraved for the illustrated edition of *Enoch Arden*, Payne's gift book for the following Christmas.[32] Reproductions of Woolner's sculpture were advertised in and sold through this latter volume as the celebrity paraphernalia initiated by Payne in response to the poet's success increasingly threatened his rarefied poetic reputation. Payne had mutated Tennyson's idea of a working-class edition into a miniature gift book: *A Selection* was ornate, contained exclusive literary property and was cheap for a gift book but at least twice the price of a publication designed for the poor. The commercial success of the book signals popularity with the middle classes rather than the working-class readers that Queen Victoria, Tennyson, and his family implied were the beneficiaries.

INSERT FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE

[Frontispiece from *A Selection from the Works of Alfred Tennyson* (London: Moxon, 1865). Photograph by Jim Cheshire.]

31. Henry Moore Institute, Leeds, MS 'Thomas Woolner's Diary for 1864' (16/1990), p. 96. This is the entry for 29 November but both references clearly describe the same occasion.

32. Alfred Tennyson, *Enoch Arden with Illustrations by Arthur Hughes* (London: Moxon, 1866), the edition was released in December 1865 but forward dated to 1866.

Even the careers of canonical literary figures have a 'backstage' that can inform our understanding of Victorian culture. Attention to material culture facilitates access to areas that literary criticism cannot reach, although a rounded assessment of poetry clearly necessitates both. If we think of material culture in its broadest sense, *A Selection* is not just a material manifestation of the tension between a poet and the commercial logic of selling poetry in the 1860s, it is a material renegotiation of the relationship between poetry and popular culture, one instance of an artefact through which a publisher attempted to mediate between a poet and his readers. Tennyson made the selection: this editorial task evolved his perception of how he related to his readership and, through his position as Poet Laureate, how he fulfilled his public role. But his publisher controlled the physical format, price and commercial strategy behind the book and the book demonstrates that Payne's decisions related to future publications, competition with other publishers and plans for the commercial exploitation of Tennyson's image. Affordability to working-class readers was not a priority for the publisher and the format was designed to capitalise on the poet's fame; it was simultaneously a book and a promotional device for a future series. The significance of *A Selection* is not apparent in the absence of the 'thing' itself, the size, feel, weight and design of the book cannot be understood from catalogue entries or images: this showy little volume exudes a subtle ostentation that cannot be experienced remotely.

V. Conclusion

The kind of approach adopted in my brief discussion of Tennyson's *A Selection* has its limitations: it does not position the object in relation to its users and although an inscription shows that it was given to 'Tom Collier' this artefact cannot be effectively

connected to an 'ethnography of place'.[33] But when material properties are analyzed within the frameworks of the publishing business and Tennyson's career, object-based analysis can still move us beyond the known information about a well-researched poet.

Indeed, things cannot speak for themselves: good analysis relies on sensitivity to semantic frameworks and symbolic meaning but, as historians and literary scholars, we ignore the materiality of the artefact at our peril. 'Things communicate by what they are as well as how they mean' as Lorraine Daston has put it: 'a particular cultural setting may accentuate this or that property, but a thing without any properties is silent.'[34] The book analyzed above as a 'thing' within a commercial framework offers fresh opportunities to assess the career of the most prominent poet in Victorian England. This does not address Andersson's desire to access working-class experience, although material culture arguably offers great potential to address just this issue.[35] Remaining responsive to the potential of material culture does not solve the problems within Victorian Studies but it can open our eyes to the physical world that the Victorians created, a world that still surrounds many of us today.

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33 Alan Mayne and Susan Lawrence, 'Ethnographies of Place: A New Urban Research Agenda', *Urban History*, 26.3 (December 1999), 325-48.

34. Lorraine Daston, 'Introduction', in *Things that Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science*, ed. by Lorraine Daston (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 9–26 (p. 20).

35 See for example Henry Glassie, *Material Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).